DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 307 675 EA 020 932

AUTHOR Marshall, Catherine; Mitchell, Barbara A.
TITLE Women's Careers as a Critique of the Administrative Culture.
PUB DATE Mar 89
NOTE 46p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (San Francisco, CA, March 27-31, 1989). Some tables may reproduce poorly due to small print.
PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Administrators; *Behavior Patterns; *Bureaucracy; *Educational Administration; Elementary Secondary Education; *Females; Principals; Research Problems; *Sex Differences
IDENTIFIERS *Organizational Culture

ABSTRACT

K.E. Ferguson's analysis of women's place in capitalist society and the concurrent elevation of bureaucratic structures seriously challenges administration analysts. According to Ferguson, modern bureaucracy requires constant maintenance in reifying its dominance structure and locating and suppressing opposition. This analysis can be applied to schools as bureaucracies and to women's entry as a challenge to dominant values in the administrative culture. This paper proposes a research program aimed at understanding school administration through examination of the culture's language, stories, preferred behaviors, and socialization processes. After reviewing several stages of research on women, the paper introduces a new stage exploring deficiencies in the administrative culture itself. This stage acknowledges male-female differences in preferences, values, and moral decision-making; asks whether women's qualities are undesirable in the administrative culture; and lays the foundation for new research agendas. Next, the paper reviews five assumptions concerning recruitment into a hierarchically dominated administrative culture, suggests a series of research questions and designs to explore them, and notes studies beginning that exploration. The final section details a study of assistant vice-principals that illustrates this line of inquiry by examining the experience of women administrators as deviants. "Deviant" values are kept under control by the sponsored mobility system, which tightly defines competency and selects people resembling their sponsors. Bureaucratic values appear to get in the way of sound administrative practice and discourage women from entering educational administration. These values must be unmasked before schools can benefit from women administrators' talents and alternative perspectives. Included are several tables and 82 references. (MLH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED307675

WOMEN'S CAREERS AS A CRITIQUE OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE CULTURE

Catherine Marshall
Vanderbilt University

and

Barbara A. Mitchell
School District of Philadelphia

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Catherine Marshall

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Presented at the Annual Conference of the
American Educational Research Association
San Francisco, March 1989

EA 020 932

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Ferguson's (1984) analysis of the evolution of women's place in capitalist society and the concurrent elevation of bureaucratic structures poses a challenge to analysts of administration. As administrative rationality spread to our institutions, instrumental order, order by rule, centralization, maximization of efficiency and control, artificiality, (distance from nature) universalism and standardization became dominant values. Ferguson asserts that modern bureaucracy requires constant maintenance in reifying its dominance structure and locating and suppressing any opposition. Ferguson's analysis is useful as a critique of schools insofar as schools are bureaucracies. Scholars (e.g. Callahan, 1967 and Tyack and Hansot, 1982) have traced the transformation of school administration to a business manager mode. Katz (1975) documented the ways educators latched onto the utility of bureaucracy for controlling large numbers of the "unwashed" immigrants by schooling them in institutions that eschew the personal and nurturance functions in favor of impersonal, stable, predictable, rule-governed, efficient, and productive organizations. This paper uses the framework of Ferguson's critique.

Ferguson's analysis raises questions about methods of power maintenance. Ortiz and Marshall (1987) echo these ideas, noting that those in charge

> want to retain the power inherent in defining what is valuable, good and proper. Different values and behaviors can simply be defined as deficient, devalued, and wrong when they are displayed by people who appear to pose threats to those in control. Dominance is maintained, and the actions of the powerful are seen as the virtuous, valued actions (p. 136).

As a way of reframing questions about women's access to administrative careers, Ferguson's analysis is useful, insofar as women's entry presents a challenge, and opponents, to the dominant values in the administrative culture.

Ortiz and Marshall delineate the historical evolution of teaching and administration as separate, mutually dependent professions, noting that " the pattern took stronger form as bureaucratization increased in schools" (p.123).

The business model, with heavy emphasis on bureaucracy and efficiency "turned schools into competitive bureacracies, rather than collaborative service organizations, emphasizing control over instruction" (Ortiz and Marshall, 1987, p. 123).

Stages of)Research on Women's Careers

Tetrault (1984) outlined stages of research about women. First we saw studies asking "Can women perform competently in administrative roles?", with comparisons made between men and the few women who were mostly in lower administrative positions.

Then there were the studies focusing on women's motivation; most of these studies assumed that failure to aspire was equivalent to a kind of deficiency. In fact, this whole stage of research is framed in a deficiency paradigm.

The next stage of research starts with new questions, aimed at the organization, asking "Do organizations discriminate against women?" The answer was "yes"and detailed the old boys network, the biases in selection processes, the school board attitudes showing preferences for males, and so on. Kanter (1977) dispelled the myths that women and minorities were somehow deficient because they were not represented in larger numbers. She demonstrated how the organiztion reduced opportunity for women and minorities and placed the onus on the organization to foster their hiring and promotion. Laws were passed and selection processes were cleaned up. But the era of affirmative action and the new laws brought no real improvement in the numbers of women in administration, certainly not with any trends that would create the influx of women one would predict, given the vast pool of women teachers to draw from. Organizations, though, persisted in promoting a kind of self-hel for women that told them to behave like men in order to reach their goals. The assumption was that women would have to make themselves fit into the preexisting norms of the corporate or school organization and hierarchy. And even when women did this, their numbers did not increase (Pavan, 1987). Thus, the burden went back to the women while

at the same time organizations were touting themselves as equal opportunity employers. So that paradigm explained phenomena but did not provide progressive workable solutions.

This symposium is in the forefront of a new stage of research on women in that it examines the administrative culture and asks "What's wrong with this culture--how does it create this deficiency by which the talent and perspectives of women are sacrificed." It is a deficiency model too, but now the focus is on the deficiency of the organizational and professional culture. This stage acknowledges male-female differences in preferences, values, moral decision making as Gilligan (1977) found and asks whether women's qualities are undesirable in the administrative culture. It reviews what we know about women in administration in order to lay the grounding for new research agendas on the administrative culture.

Our paper makes the following assumptions:

1. Entry into the administrative career is entry into a particular culture.
2. The administrative culture selectively recruits and promotes only those who are seen as competent, desirable, and "fit."
3. "Fitness" and competency are assessed according to a sets of understandings about how the organization should work, toward what goals, with what behaviors.
4. One can enter and move up in the hierarchy of administrative careers only by adhering to the dominant cultural values.
6. The rhetoric of hierarchical bureaucracy dominates the professed value system in the administrative culture.

Our paper will first review these assumptions, then suggest a series of research questions and designs that would explore them and note studies that begin that exploration. The paper then provides detail on one study that illustrates this line of inquiry.

Entering the Administrative Career Culture

This section describes what we know about how people choose careers and applies this knowledge to careers in school administration.

Choosing the administrative career. Career choice occurs and recurs throughout life (Van Maanen, 1977), involves choices about work, psychic needs and love (Osipow, 1983; Christman, 1986; Bordin, 1984) and is based on a series of reality-testing experiences and emotional responses to the career environment, its values system, a person's self concept along with positive and negative reinforcements. What are the environmental signals from the administrative career culture?

Signals to women. Whatever the details of the intricacies of career choice for school administration, they must be different for men and women because the outcomes are different. The best statistics available[1] (Jones and Montenegro, 1985) show that women are 2.7% of the superintendents, 15.5% of the assistant superintendents, 8% of the secondary school principals, and 25% of the elementary principals. Keep in mind that this is drawing from an employment pool where women were 69% of the teachers. And keep in mind that this is no real improvement since the era of affirmative action of the 1970's.

So the career environmental message to women is this:

1. They can expect occupational segregation and isolation.
2. They can expect the pressure of tokenism, as symbols people who are not expected to be there (Kanter, 1977).
3. They can expect to work in a culture whose norms were developed with the expectation that males will fill most positions. (These norms include beliefs that wives will handle the emotional, nurturing, and social aspects of life, that military and team sports ways of viewing the world are appropriate; and that the moral values and the language of organizational are the true and valid ones).

In addition, women know that they face barriers as pioneers and they face the realities where women's careers and the expectations for homemakers are mutually exclusive. Alternatively, they realize that, to have both career and homemaker roles, they must introduce and justify an unusual vocational pattern, often entering the administrative career after their childrearing days, further accentuating their aberrance in the administrative culture.

Yet some women do enter the career, and a few move up to high positions. Clearly these are a rarified species, able to withstand isolation, to fit into a foreign culture, to make choices, and act, talk, and exhibit values that are seen as abnormal or at least atypical. Thus, when we study women administrators, we must recognize that many of these are individuals who have separated from other women and taken on administrator values. What is lost? Are the values, behaviors, and interactions of the administrator culture better? Better for what?

A New Hypothesis: Cultural Exclusion

By examining the implications from career choice theory, we see emerging a new question: What is there about the career environment that excludes most women? New hypotheses emerge for guiding our exploration, such as:

1. women do not aspire to enter the career, because

a. They recognize that they cannot or do not want to take on the behaviors, values, and attitudes that would make them appear competent,

b. Women's ways of talking, behaving , valuing, and structuring activity do not fit with those accepted in the educational administration culture.

There are numerous related theories and empirical findings that fall into place once a theory of cultural exclusion is accepted.

The increasing emphasis on scientific managment ideologies in school administration (Callahan, 1967; Tyack and Hansot, 1982; Ortiz and Marshall, 1987) and the establishment of the myth of neutral technical competence led

school boards, parents, and educators to believe that efficiency, finance, standardization, specialization, and hierarchical control were critical values around which to structure the activities of schools. Therefore, those who would manage schools should personify such values. Those who proposed alternative views of the functions, values, goals, and methods for structuring life in schools could not be trusted. Their intelligence, commitment, energy, and skills could be useful, but they must be kept under control.

What system could be devised to protect schools from these aberrent ideas? An open system in which people could attain positions of power through energy, hard work, and dedication would not do, but bureaucracy would work. A system in which those toward the top of the hierarchy could control the definition of competency could then weed out those whose values, actions, and goals do not fit.

In school administration, the sponsored mobility system (Turner, 1960) guarantees even tighter control over those definitions of competency; sponsors naturally provide accesss and support to people who are very much like themselves. However, the myth of bureaucratic neutrality and contest mobility must be maintained; those who do not move up the administrative hierarchy must be made to believe that they have lost in a fair competition. They must believe that those in the higher administrative positions are truly more capable, energetic, fit, and right.

Exploded myths. Myths and paradigms cannot be maintained when pressing questions cannot be answered. First, the myth of neutral technical competence, apolitical efficiency, and contest mobility has already been shattered. In fact, educators often explain their system by saying "oh, its all political". Second, there are few women educators who believe that their male superiors attained their higher administrative positions through brilliant and energetic contributions to helping children learn better, and fewer still who believe that all one has to do to get into administration is to win an open contest based on

ability. So the chinks in the armor of the myth are wide.

Researchers like Donmoyer (1984), Marshall (1985), Gronn (1982), Blase (1988), Licata and Hack (1980) who use a cultural framework to study the values and interactions in the organizational/professional culture of administration are throwing aside old research agendas which view schools as technically perfectable bureaucracies. By focusing on the words and interactions in the administrative culture, such research traces the real messages and processes that create power and control in schools.

Research Agendas from the New Framework

From this theory of culture exclusion flows a set of questions to be explored. The old questions were: Do those in power prefer men over women for administrative positions? Can women be competent as administrators? and, Do women face extra barriers as they attempt entry into administrative careers? Numerous researchers have found that the answer is yes, (Taylor, 1977) to each of these questions (see also Edson, 1988; Adkison, 1981; and Shakeshaft, 1987). But the new theory frames a question that puts the onus on the professional culture by asking "what are the values and behaviors presumed to be in women (and some men) who are excluded from administrative positions?" and a corollary question, "What are the preferred values and behaviors?" Herein lie the important new research agendas.

Examining the administrative culture. The questions outlined above require examination of a culture--the professional culture of school administration. Tangible, visible aspects of culture are easy to document; we have no difficulty examining the written job descriptions and counting the numbers of men and women in administrative positions. Other aspects of culture--invisible patterns of shared beliefs--are much more difficult to study.

Anthropologists know, however, that the best way to understand culture is to focus on:

1. the points of passage from one status in the culture to another (how is this done? What are the rules for acceptance, and what tests must be passed and what rituals are followed)

2. the meanings behind the language (What hierarchies of value exist, what do stories tell about the culture's systems for judging what is good and what is not?)

3. the meanings behind the behaviors (What is viewed as good and appropriate behavior and what is not?)

This paper proposes a program of research that aims at understanding school administration through the examination of the culture's language, stories, preferred behaviors, and its socialization processes. Previous researchers, working in other frameworks, have useful findings.

Previous research on administrative behavior. Studies on administrators' behavior ranged from ethnographic (e.g. Wolcott, 1973) to a kind of time-on-task approach (e.g. Mintzberg, 1973). Studies comparing the behavior of men and women administrators show intriguing differences. Women are more attuned to instructional leadership and teachers' concerns (Gross and Trask, 1964, 1976; Hemphill et al., 1962). Pitner (1981) shadowed these men and three women superintendents and found that "the work activities are not different when the superintendent is female" (p. 291) but she did find that women maintained a less formal stance and engaged in fewer political activities than males. Estler and Carr's survey (1988) found that male and female principals and superintendents spend similar amounts of time on the same activities but that women have a greater preference (than men) for those activities typically associated with instructional leadership and communicational (e.g. goal development and articulation, staff development, meeting with school related groups, curriculum planning). One is then left with the question about the administrative culture--does it mean to exclude those who exhibit these values and behaviors? Which behaviors and values are more preferred?

Previous research on language. Few researchers have examined the language of administrators. Gronn's (1982) analysis of principals' conversations demonstrated the exciting potential for uncovering the values of the administrative culture through examination of talk.

Sociolinguists' theorize that men and women speak differently, that women speak with hesitancy and apology while men dominate conversation with language full of certainty (Key, 1975; Lakoff, 1975; Miller & Swift, 1976; Phillips, 1980) In fact, sociolinguists have inconsistent findings , perhaps due to inconsistency in their populations and to their use of out-of-context research designs. Nevertheless, it would be useful to examine whether male and female educators talk differently (see Marshall, 1988 for further discussion). Sociolinguists would predict that males' talk would dominate. An analysis of faculty meetings showed that women were interrupted much more than men (Eakins and Eakins, 1976). Other studies showed trivialization of women's ideas (Hennig & Jardim, 1977). Pitner (1981) found that her female superintendents did use more hesitant speech ("I think," "I guess"), hedging phrases, and tag questions, leaving an aura of uncertainty. But Lawrence (1989) and Hanna (1988) both found indications that male administrators' talk was actually less assertive than females'. One is left to question--do women administrators have to talk tough to be seen as credible leaders or do women with a hesitant, less assertive and more inclusive style of interaction get excluded from the administrative career? And, is assertive, certain, tough talk the best way to project leadership in an education organization? If so, what happens to valuing of child development, nurturance, solicitation of parent and community involvement? Are these aberrant values, behaviors, and language in the administrative culture?

Previous research on stories. Observers and members of cultures tell stories that illustrate what works and what does not; the stories are often tales of how someone deviated from the valued path and either learned a lesson, showed contrition and reformed, or was branded as deviant. In politics, people

gain or lose power and credibility based on their adherence to the "assumptive worlds" of their political subculture (Marshall, Mitchell, and Wirt, 1987). The administrative culture is full of such lore, and mentors use it for training, but few researchers have tapped into this as a key to understanding the values in administration. Mentors tell stories to novices and the stories tap into the administrative culture's norms of what works, of how to cover over any deviance. An important research agenda can develop from analysis of these stories.

Research on socialization. Numerous researcher have examined the processes of recruitment and selection into administrative careers. The functions of sponsors, the formal and informal testing and screening, the documentation of the fact that the processes weed out women and minorities are ongoing traditional research agendas. But a new and promising slant on this line of research would be to focus on the differences in values, language, and behavior of those who do and those who do not "make it." What behaviors, talk, and values are being weeded out? A very promising beginning to this line of research is the focus on the very first entry level positions (e.g. the assistant principalship) in order to elicit the process of decisionmaking (lures, supports, dilemmas, trade-offs and turn-offs) that fledgeling administrators face (see Marshall, 1985, for an example of such an analysis).

It is in the examination of the processes of entry-level socialization that we will discover what is required for crossing the boundary to enter into the administrative culture.

Research on deviants. It is natural, in organizational and professional processes (formal and informal) of recruitment, support, and selection, that troublemakers and deviants will be weeded out. Educators (men and women) whose values, backgrounds, goals, and behaviors, people who challenge the status quo and raise questions are sanctioned. Some have low regard for and no aspiration to enter the administrative culture. Research in older stages of research on women measured women's low aspiration for administration and viewed that as a

deficiency. With the new theory, the new questions are: What is it about the administrative culture that educators find repugnant? What turns them away? Important leads come from research on educators who leave, either from teaching or from administration. Ortiz and Marshall's (1987) review points to research showing that leaving teaching is more traumatic for women (Marshall, 1979; Blood, 1966; Lortie, 1975). Jones and Montenegro (1982) found that women involved in programs intended to help them overcome barriers to entering school administration sometimes leave the public education system as they learn more about it. And women who earn advanced degrees in educational administration are less likely than men to see the degree as a means to advancement in administration; rather, they are trying to move to another organization, consultant, research or government work (Marshall, 1984; McCarthy, 1979; Oller, 1979a, 1979b). Women are disenchanted with administration. Why? One set of deviants to study are those who leave education.

Another group of deviants to study are those who somehow enter administrative careers' in spite of the fact that they deviate from the white, male, conservative norm. Those women who do enter and move up, minorities, "change agent" types are atypical and worth studying. How did they squirm through the filtering of bureaucratic and professional recruitment and selection? What are their values, behaviors and language goals? How do they get support in spite of their deviance? Do they "pass" (Goffman, 1963) as normal until they attain their positions? What are the social, bureaucratic, and professional sanctions exercised to control these renegades?

Summary

So we see an array of new foci for research once we decide to examine on the cultural processes in administration and ask what values are promulgated in that culture. The cultural exclusion framework, coupled with Ferguson's thesis, grounds a set of hypotheses in which the administrative culture supports only the bureaucratic values.

Where does this leave women? The remainder of our paper presents research that explores these important questions by an examination of the early socialization process, the language, the stories, and the dilemmas faced by deviants--thus capturing the most promising ways to explore the administrative culture.

The Research Problem

We now present an example of such research. Are there differences in the ways women and men are socialized into the administrative culture and in the ways they conceptualize and approach their work? Do these differences affect assistant principals? Do the differences affect their ability to move up in the administrative hierarchy? Our research explored the approaches of women and men to defining and solving problems and to exercising authority in the position of assistant principal. An important part of the analysis of the data was an examination of the language men and women used as they talked about their work. Comparative analysis of their words and descriptions of problems as the administrators saw them ebabled the researcher to discover basic values and any gender differences in those value systems. It also explored whether tasks assigned to vice principals are gender-based in that women are given jobs that do not allow for the development of skills necessary for promotion.

A central conceptual guide for the questions is Gilligan's (1982) finding that women have modes for solving moral dilemmas different from men. This was expressed in terms of relationships, responsibility, and caring. Her findings showed that male judgments were concerned with non-interference, justice, and respect for the rights of others. Women develop opposing views of the world of relationships; they establish an attachment to those affected by decisions with an outlook of caring; they look at the context of each problem; they proceed on the premise "that no one should be hurt" (p. 174). Gilligan hypothesized that women would be more "at risk in a society that rewards separation" (p. 156) because their decisionmaking was based on caring.

Questions posed by this research explored what kinds of administrative behaviors would translate into Gilligan's concepts of attachment/separation. If Gilligan's model held, it was predicted that women would deal with conflict in schools differently from their male counterparts and in ways that would make it less likely that violence would erupt (than when men handled conflict). It was predicted that female administrators would be more child-centered and that this would be demonstrated by the amount of time spent with individual children on a problem. Women might spend more time listening than their male colleagues and more time in cooperative or conflict-reducing activities. It was also predicted that in the event of such differences, women would be less likely to be promoted to the secondary principalship because their attachment behaviors held less value in a society that ranked detached justice at the top of its moral scale.

Research Design and Methodology

The research involved the examination of the role of the secondary vice principal, the tasks s/he performed and the interactions s/he had in the process of carrying out the duties of the job in and out of the school site. This section outlines the methodology of an example of the kind of research that Marshall proposes--that the direction of new research should look at language, culture, values and how power and control are learned, used, expressed and maintained.

Field study methodology was chosen as the appropriate methodology for this exploration of people, roles, and events and for the generation of hypotheses and theory building about gender differences and administrator mobility. The research was a part of a larger study of the assistant principalship. It utilized data from eight informants, selected and expanded understandings, and

---

[1] Research subjects were given pseudonyms and numbers.

tested findings from data of three other researchers on twelve additional informants. The twenty informants were from four states. Table 1 shows the characteristics of the field study sample and Table 2 provides their names.[1]

(Insert Tables 1 & 2)

The research included formal and informal interviewing, direct observation (shadowing) of the assistant principals, examination of documents, and recording and counting activities in a Mintzberg (1973)-style structured observation. This technique involved conducting a timed account of each encounter in the assistant principal's day for comparative analysis by categories of activities and total time spent in each type of activity. Informal interviews and conversations were held with other staff in faculty lounges, hallways, and lunchrooms. The researchers interviewed principals and attended meetings scheduled during the observation period where possible.

Informants were shadowed for periods of four to seven days, and wherever possible, the on-site observation was conducted during two different parts of the school year to account for the possibility of different behaviors during the various school-year cycles. Interview informants were seen on the school site or visited there at another time so the researcher would have a sense of the school atmosphere. A narrative of each site visit, a listing of times encounters throughout the observation, and a transcription of each interview was prepared from field notes and audio tapes and shared with each informant as another check on what occurred and as a guide for future questioning. Follow-up interviews were also conducted.

This triangulated data collection procedure allowed the researchers to check both the data and themselves for inconsistencies. Separate methodological notes were kept along with running analytical notes. This enabled the researchers to remain aware that data were filtered through a human being as a research tool. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Schatzman and Strauss, 1973; Spradley, 1979; Bosk, 1979; Wolcott, 1973; Metz, 1979).

A limitation to the study is that the subjects were not selected at random, but were essentially self-selected. Because informants were self-selected, there was a strong likelihood that the sample contained more women and men who perceive themselves as performing their jobs very well than there may be in the general assistant principal pool. However, many findings in this study are consistent with what other researchers have found. It is noteworthy that such similarities indicate that although subjects are self-selected, the data about subjects and sites are not skewed.

Findings

A Model of Orientation to the Administrative Career

The literature has documented that educators develop different orientation to their roles and different responses to the organizational socialization processes they undergo (Marshall, 1985; Lightfoot, 1984; Bredeson, 1985; Ortiz, 1982; Schmuck, 1981; Biklen, 1985; Berman, 1982; Pitner, 1979; Klein, 1986) as do people in other organizations (Kanter, 1977; Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Gallese, 1985; McBroom, 1986; Schein, 1978).

Although there are commonalities to the experiences of all of the assistant principals, each one's orientation to the career takes on a distinctive pattern. Research team data analysis of the individual cases showed that these distinctions could be sorted into specific career types. Five different patterns were identified in a typology of orientation to the administrative career: upwardly mobile, career, plateaued, shafted and considering leaving. The data showed the upwardly mobile person had specific work and attitude differences from the assistant principal who was plateaued or who was considering leaving the field of education. Figure 1 (Insert Fig. 1.) shows how the career influences the aspirants' chance for mobility and can result in vastly different adjustments individuals make to the organization. Table 3

shows the placement of each of the research subjects within the career adjustment model.

Gender Differences and Assistant Principals

The data showed that there were some deep gender differences experienced by men and women in the vice principal position as well as some striking similarities in their experiences. This section summarizes these findings and looks at the vice principals' own words as they talk about their career experiences.

Teaching and sponsorship. Men and women were similar in their primary motivation for entering the administrative ranks regardless of whether they were tapped on the shoulder or decided to obtain certification because they were already performing administrative tasks. When the opportunity for administrative application arose, all of these subjects were prepared with administrative certification or were close to having it.

Half of the women received support and encouragement from principals or superintendents when they made it clear that they were interested in administrative positions. However, slightly more than half of them encountered blocking on the part of principals or superintendents at the teacher or vice principal levels or even at graduate school.

Prior research showed that women spend much more time than men in the teaching position before they make the first move toward administration (Prolman, 1983; Ortiz, 1982). The women in this study, with one exception, spent considerably longer periods teaching. Figure 2 presents the career shapes (a graphic display of the comparative time each subject spent at each career level) of subjects 1 through 8. Among the twenty subjects in the total study the women spent an average of 14.3 years in teaching (including counseling) while the men spent an average of 8.5 years in teaching (including heading departments).

Testing the women. The women in the study experienced extra-testing and extra stress on the job from men in the following forms:

1) Statements or implications that woman should not have gotten the job because she is a woman;
2) Being seen only as a sex object;
3) Expecting a woman to have control problems because she is a woman;
4) Flirtatious teasing with ambiguous messages;
5) Ignoring a woman administrator's orders/waiting to see what happens;
6) Isolation giving the women a sense of being a token;
7) Negation of one's achievement in earning an administrative position by implying that women's test scores were artificially raised;
8) Punishment for childbearing; and
9) Outright enmity and expectation of failure.

Women also perceived as they talked among themselves that they were given more work to do than their male counterparts and still did not get as much credit for their accomplishments. There was also the sense of uncertainty as to the quality of one's candidacy for promotional positions. The women subjects saw these actions as ordeals that their male colleagues did not have to deal with or even think about.

These forms of opposition to the women's career in administration were also found by Marshall (1979) as far up the administrative line as the woman superintendent.

Susan Rafferty, (R1) the youngest research subject, described the anguish she experienced her first year on the job. She said:

> They're testing you and I think the test was harder because I was a woman...and I was young. I don't know which was harder...so I had a lot of self-doubts the first year...when they would send a problem down here, I would handle it. Then they would come storming down here and let me know how they didnt' think I handled it right.

Katherine Rhoads' (R2) first VP encounter with her principal was humiliating. It was her first day on the job. She was standing at the front desk in the office when the principal approached her and asked her if she were the new VP. When she identified herself, he responded with, "I wasn't sure. We thought you had big bazooms." Of her colleague vice principal she recounts, "He didn't know what to do with me except grab my ass." This man did not have administrative credentials when he was appointed, and he had circumvented the district's

regular testing for administrative positions via a direct appointment by the superintendent. Mrs. Rhoads related:

> One day he came into my office and I finally told him to keep his f---ing hands off me. He didn't speak to me after that. The principal came to me and said, "Now, Kay, you are more intelligent than he is. You can handle him." I responded that since he was the principal; maybe HE should talk to the VP about his behavior.

This kind of behavior undermines the fabric of relationships within the school and immediately makes the woman the outsider, the one who challenges the existing structure. Fortunately, Mrs. Rhoads received support from the women teachers in the school.

Ellen Carson, S4, a new assistant principal, complained that her colleague VP did not perceive her as a colleague yet:

> I'm just a hired hand to take discipline off his hands. It wouldn't be that way if I were a man. To him I'm just an afterthought.

About faculty members she supervised she said:

> I am bemused by the men, especially the physical education teachers. They are putting on the charm and sometimes the make. I am me; I want to look good, but where do you draw the line as a female administrator? I'm not clear myself. Is this bullshit in order for them to get over? You heard them joke about the pipe breaking and the water all over the place. But I still had to ask them what they did about it. And they couldn't tell me that they called the custodian or reported it to the office.

Ms. Carson then had to go immediately to the basement to check on the burst pipe and to see if the custodian knew about it. It had been reported. She said that there remained the lurking question about whether or not they were out to sabotage, were neutral, or really wanted to help. The messages were mixed and thus, increased the ambiguity she felt on the job and how she felt in the setting.

Jean King, D5, moved to New Court when her husband's job changed. She applied for an assistant principalship in the high school and was appointed. She was assigned as a curriculum specialist as one of six assistants, occasionally getting experience in other areas when she volunteered to "pitch in" when needed. After a few years she declared herself as a candidate for a high school principalship. She was told outright that neither a woman nor a

black would be appointed to the principalship of a high school in that district. Knowing this was a dead end, she moved to Flushing, about ninety miles away, to take an assistant principalship. Two years later, in September 1985, she was promoted to the principalship of Forrest High School in Flushing.

Carol Mann, D6, had a similar experience. She was told by the superintendent that he would never appoint a woman as a building administrator "because women were too genteel." She argued; he was intractable. But Mrs. Mann waited it out. This superintendent retired. A young man who was Mrs. Mann's protege became principal and supported her appointment as assistant principal. Later, when he was promoted, she became the principal of the school--after devoting thirty-six years of her life to education.

Alexis Clark, S8, described her first appointment as a "trial by fire" in an inner-city junior high school. The principal said to her:

> I don't think a woman ever should be made an administrator because women were designed for other purposes. Look at a women physiologicaly and you see the purpose. I run my school my way. I would never respect a woman as a leader.

She felt that everyday the principal was out to prove that she was incapable, declaring:

> The stress of having my principal try to prove I was incapable made me miserable, but I wasn't going to complain (about him) to anyone because it would prove to him just what he always thought--that women couldn't take it.

Each woman was left on her own to confront the problem of dealing with the sexual harrassement, or undermining of her authority or the isolation. Because men rarely experience these forms of behavior, it would be considered a violation of normative behavior to complain of receiving such treatment. Clearly, from this pattern of extra testing for women, bureaucratic rationality does not exist but rather hierarchical control, tokenism, and social control in the form of harassment are administrative cultural practices that undermine women's opportunities.

The Meaning of Schooling and the Meaning of Control

The women and men in this study were given the gamut of tasks to perform in the vice principalship. Demonstration of control over the discipline function was a major prerequisite for promotional consideration according to most principals interviewed. Demonstration of instructional expertise was secondary as Doris Schroeder's principal said:

> You must have order or you can't do a damn thing. You must also have a philosophy, but if there's no order, you can bark up trees all day long...If there is bedlam, it's leadership's fault.

Women demonstrated their handling of both minor discipline problems and serious incidents that involved drugs, gangs and assaults. Those female subjects who were directly involved in discipline decisions included Ellen Carson, Alexis Clark, Doris Schroeder, Elaine Jones, Althea Gibsen, Katherine Rhoads, Elizabeth Anderson and Susan Rafferty. Carson, Clark, Schroeder, Jones and Rafferty immersed themselves frequently and with deep commitment in discipline that they labeled as a counseling style. This meant that they depended more heavily on a time-consuming, listening-advising, explaining-understanding mode rather than assigning a punishment and "that's the end of it until the next time I see you." Those men who had counseling experience (Virgil Jones and George Tiempo) also utilized a counseling approach. Table 3 summarizes words and phrases assistant principals used frequently in talking about their work as disciplinarians as well as actions they relied on during observations. Women assistant principals more frequently discussed the use of the discipline encounter as a learning experience for students. They were less willing than their male counterparts to terminate encounters with requisite punishment. These behaviors appeared across student age level boundaries and in different socio-economic and racial communities as well as in schools of large and smaller student enrollments.

The subjects' statements about the meaning of schooling and about students reflect some slight differences in terminology and emphasis. The women

mentioned learning in the contexts of intellectual skills (as well as self discipline and interpersonal skills) more often than their male colleagues. Sixty percent of the women repeatedly used the word "learning" while only one of the men did. However, no conclusive span of differences emerges from these data. Virgil Jones (S7) whose emphasis was in counseling frequently used the terms "caring" and "guidance" and spoke of teaching the whole child. The other male subjects spoke of economic opportunities as the basis for striving, responsibility and developing inner controls.

Limited Risk Taking

Assistant principals, whether they aspire to move on to principalships and to central office positions or remain in the assistant position, learn that they may be pulled in different directions. While serving school's clientele and the school's staff as well as the wider district; the aspirant often finds there are conflicting goals and interests and that action in the interest of the school site may incur the disfavor of superiors or even place one in violation of district or state policy. Many of the research subjects found themselves facing dilemmas in which they had to make value decisions that might put them at risk. Negotiating conflicting interests and dealing with personal and professional dilemmas is part of the school administrator's work (Iannaccone, 1985). But the VP is in the position of learning and demonstrating essential skills, and this involves taking some risk.

At times an assistant principal saw an opportunity to improve the efficacy of programs or processes and procedures and suggested that a change be made. No one in any school wanted an atmosphere of confusion or disruption, and change can cause disruption. But in order to get the attention of one's superiors, the assistant principal needed to effectuate some outstanding or salutary idea or project without creating an uproar of opposition.

Limited Risk Taking (LRT) involves actions on the part of the vice principal that seek to: expand and control the limits of the position, test

leadership and interpersonal skills, put the aspirant in a more favorable position, or improve a school procedure without risking a major error that could result in being plateaued. By taking small risks the assistant principal begins to test the system and to use a network of interpersonal relations both in and out of the school building to carry out an idea. The upwardly mobile personnel (UMs) did this, and perhaps a significant difference between the UM and the plateaued VP is the willingness to act on one's own within reasonable risk limits. The UM is able to choose ideas or changes that can have positive career impact if successful but that avoid negative sanctions if unsuccessful.

The vice principals in this study took risks in initiating policy changes (Carson, Jameson, Greenberg), in seeking new positions outside their districts (Mize, Jameson, Dixon, King, Rafferty), in making demands for appropriate workspace (Carson), in insisting that the VP maintain a role in the school's discipline (Schroeder), in refusing to align oneself with opposing factions within a district (Jameson), and in standing up for a principle (Clark, Greenberg, Anderson).

There were vice principals who were not risk takers. Donna DeVarona (D3) said of her first move toward administration, "I really didn't think about it; it was thought out for me...I just can't imaging myself at another school...Everything is known here and I have a fear of the unknown." Non-risk takers were capable but lacked something in assertiveness or creativity that their districts were looking for in candidates for the principalship.

Both men and women engaged in risk taking activities, but only Jones, Gibsen, DeVarona, Mann, and Simpson (all women) showed little or not evidence of risk-taking behavior. Among these only Mann wanted to become a principal. It was she who waited thirty-six years for the job. The other women were career assistant principals by choice or sought to move to central office staff positions.

Some VPs exceeded the bounds of LRT in that they took risks that resulted in negative outcomes that limited their careers. The assistant principal has to decide what's worth fighting for within the bureaucracy and what is too much to fight for. Katherine Rhoads, for example, had to decide if she would press her case that challenged an examination that she believed was incorrectly marked. This challenge, if won, would result in a re-examination for over 250 candidates for administrative positions. It would be costly for the district and would have jeopardized the careers of some people already placed in positions. She had to decide if the ethical question was more important than the normative pressures. She dropped her protest on the advice of several colleagues who made it clear that even if she forced the issue and passed the test, she would never get the promotion she wanted.

Alexis Clark circumvented the wrath of a principal who was prepared to discipline her with a negative evaluation if she persisted in her attempt to defend a student who was provoked by an adult into defending himself. She did not want the child removed from the school for behavior reasons, but she knew defiance of her principal could result in career blackage. However, a friend at her district office was able to transfer the student from her school without a discipline stigma. Ms. Clark, then, did not have to challenge the judgment of her principal.

Elizabeth Anderson on several occasions interpreted special education policy to fit the needs of the school. She risked violation of Public Law 94-142 in order to keep peace, maintain control and allow instruction to proceed uninterrupted in her building. However, she did not dare this until well after she knew she was plateaued.

Elaine Jones (G3) may have singlehandedly kept racial tensions and frustrations from erupting in her desegregated, urban high school. It was her listening to and guiding the Black students that took her time. However, she was perceived as unable to gain control over the workload. Her biggest service

to her school went unnoticed and unsung. Her risk taking was not recognized by her principal as positive contribution that she made to the schoo. This is a subtle sanction that other women complained of but that Elaine Jones in particular experienced with a principal who admitted he did not know what to do with a woman VP.

The assistant principals who engaged in successful LRT, who were able to acquire sponsorship and support of a principal or higher up were classified as upwardly mobile. Many of these same people in follow-up interviews five years later have either acquired principalships, superintendencies or are building administrators.

The Different Voices Among Vice Principals

The vice principals' words and actions showed that both men and women displayed behaviors that Gilligan labelled attachment and separation or caring and fairness. Nevertheless, in balancing the language used to describe each VP's activities, philosophy, and observed action, four of the five women informants (80%) were categorized as displaying predominently connection behaviors while one of the three men (33%) was in that category. Virgil Jones, S7, had decided not to seek a principalship because he wanted to spend more time with his family. Two-thirds of the men were placed on the separation side of a continuum displaying the vice principals' connection/detachment behaviors.

The findings suggest that the male and female secondary assistant principals did have "different interpersonal orientation(s)" (Gilligan, 1982, p. 11) and that they called upon them in their interactions with the students and the adults they supervised. Women had a "different range of social experiences" (p. 11) at their school sites, and many held a different order of priorities in thinking about conflict and choice from their male colleagues. Women tended to give recognition to the context of the situation and avoid authoritarian solutions in conflict situations while men tended to impose the hierarchical order to solve conflict. The case studies of Scott (1987) and Gross (1987),

although conducted with different foci and less rigid examination of the subjects' language, also lend support for these conclusions. Gilligan's description of fundamental male-female differences in priorities in making moral judgments and in social experience can explain these differences to a certain point.

However, the differences were not seen across the board. Although a preponderance of the women tended toward a listening/guiding and problem solving orientation in their interpersonal and authoritative interactions with students, they did not necessarily use these techniques in dealing with adults. The women could be seen as weak administrators if the caring orientation were operative in handling problems with adults. Apparently, the male normed separation orientation was seen as the appropriate one for adult interactions.

What makes these findings less sharp than those found by Gilligan? What alternative explanations can describe why vice principals of both sexes vacillated between Gilligan's two orientations? Two explanations are offered here: strong administrative socialization and the organization of the school itself with its schedules, regulations and policies, ivision of labor and its conflicting goals.

The job of the assistant principal was the same job in every school with little variation. In most cases the authority was limited, and the principal could always be appealed to. The tasks and expectations were: attend to details on time, observe teachers, maintain order, and keep people (often people with conflicting purposes) reasonably happy. There was little time for long-range school planning although there were some variations in the amount of input the site principal allowed.

Assistant principals in secondary schools deal with a volatile age group in which the vice principal must adjudicate case after case usually without the luxury of time to consider every consequence but still upholding due process rights for all infraction committers. At times, such as in cases of physical

violence, there was only one way to handle a problem--stop the violence immediately and remove the perpetrators from the school site.

What emerges is a picture of assistant principals who, although they have somewhat different approaches, must follow prescribed principles and traditions that they might not follow if they were making moral judgments about their own lives. Each vice principal was working within a preordained framework of regulations which limited the possible acceptable solutions to problems.

Every assistant principal had enough experience with handling student problems and school-wide activities that s/he had developed regular patterns of behaviors in handling these before becoming a school administrator. Each had been schooled in the law and regulations governing secondary schools. Each had been trained by a former boss or mentor or the current principal in what were considered by the district as the proper responses to pupil and adult misconduct and in what was considered proper conduct. Each was tested in an oral and/or a written interview/examination by a panel of district administrators before s/he was appointed in the district. It was clear that outrageous or maverick behavior would result in no promotion and in a poor performance ratings.

Thus, the pre-administrative and on-site socialization of these assistant principals was so strong that, although it allowed for some differences in orientation toward students, it narrowed the range of responses to others' behavior as well as the range of activities or creative solutions that any administrator could utilize unless supported by the principal or the district hierarchy.

But school personnel are required to temper the need for orderliness--the need to treat every pupil the same, to impose equality of treatment--with a facet that sees each pupil as unique. Although regularity is a valued goal, the school is not a Taylorian assembly line; it is a place in which order is fragile and requires constant negotiation (Greenfield, 1986) among the principal site-level actors to maintain it; it is a place where community values are upheld and

transmitted (Reed, 1984); and it is a place whose primary stated goal is to achieve individual intellectual and moral growth. These inherent conflicting goals demand maintain-ers (see Bredeson; 1985, on the maintenance metaphor) who can recognize the conflicts and respond to them with flexibility and a determination to promote stability in the site organization.

The range of responses required of this kind of maintainer, according to Lightfoot (1984), include those on each side of the connection/detachment continuum. Thus, in this environment, it should not be unusual to find more men who demonstrate a caring orientation than one might in the Harvard student population that Gilligan questioned or in the general population. These education professionals who alternately acted as guides, growth stimulators, maintainers, stabilizers and squelchers at different times did so because the organization of the schools, the intensity of the pre-administrative and ongoing socialization by their principals and teachers, and the reality of the promotion process mitigated against vast differences among them.

What resulted was that the women adjusted to the expected norms for interactions with students and staff, but they also brought another dimension of flexibility, informality and creativity into the formal process for solving the problems they encountered with students and control. Their contributions on the job were at times recognized by either or both principals and faculties. Some were able to teach their faculties over time to adjust to and accept different orientations, particularly toward student control, even in the face of strong socialization to lean toward the formal, authoritarian, detachment orientation. Thus, another barrier some women faced that most men did not was a bias toward a particular mode of operating in conflicts. However, the general flexibility on the part of the women administrators in their ability to employ both orientations is an indication that women can and do make as effective or more effective managers of secondary schools as their male counterparts.

Conclusions from Studying the Assistant Principal

The Culture's Effect on Mobility

The experience of the twenty informants reveal that the school-site culture and the individual's working environment had a profound effect on the attitudes and aspirations of the assistant principal. Principals were the insiders who most control the promotion process in that they provide the resources for and access to training experiences in the school as well as access to information sources and opportunities for visibility (Valverde, 1980; Griffiths et al., 1965).

Building principals set the tone for what kind of person could become a successful applicant. In many cases that meant that a woman was excluded from the applicant pool. Seven (55%) of the women vice principals (Anderson, Simpson, Clarke, Jones, Rhoads, King, Mann) worked at some point with principals who believed women should not be administrators or should not be supervisors of males and, therefore, did not encourage or appoint women applicants within their schools.

The principal was the primary gatekeeper and filter as the aspirant sought to learn administrative skills by taking on a variety of tasks. A principal's coaching and sponsorship were important to most of the applicants as they sought entry to administration. The relationship of the VP to the principal was vitally important in the delegation of tasks and in the degree of visibility that accrues to the VP. Of the twenty subjects, sixteen (80%) of them as teachers relied in some way on their principals to learn tasks and demonstrate skills.

The principal also acted as the chief street level bureaucrat[2] (Weatherly and Lipsky, 1977), interpreting and shaping board policy and the law to fit the needs of his/her values and the school situation. It was the individual principal's hegemony superimposed over (or in agreement with) district policy that affected who would be placed in leadership positions in the future.

Equal opportunity employment and sex equity policies have failed to provide uniform action that could help many women gain access to administrative promotion because the street level bureaucrats (in this case individual principals) make their own decisions, unmonitored, at the school sites. They can heed or ignore stated policy intended to allow for fair access practices. This makes it impossible to know how many potential school administrators were prevented from gaining access to positions under these men and men like them. Pavan (1987 and 1987) showed that although the number of certificates for the superintendency issued to women in Pennsylvania increased dramatically (55.8% in 1986-87), the increase in the number of women in the positions increased very slowly (3% in 1970 and 3.5% in 1985). She views this slow pace as evidence of the external barriers to women candidates and clear evidence that women did not pose the barriers on themselves. This study demonstrates how that happens.

It must be pointed out, again, that the women in this study were confident, competent school administrators, self-selected to undergo heavy scrutiny of their thoughts and actions for this study. Many actively sought to gain the skills and recognition that would lead to promotion, and seven of the women had the characteristics of upwardly mobile administrators. Some of these women had to change school districts or school locations in order to avoid the blockage they encountered.

What does the differential treatment of women say about the values of the administrative culture? The research presented here indicates that in many schools there is gender warfare in effect. More than half of the women in this study experienced some form of blocking and thirty-nine percent of them worked

---

[2] Street level bureaucrats are direct implementors of a policy or providers of a service. They exercise discretion to re-make policy when resources are scarce.

in schools in which women came under direct attack when they wanted to advance from teaching to administration.

Those who met with resistance were blocked by principals or other superiors who believed that women had no place in administration or who sacrificed the careers of women so favored men could advance.

Superintendents and school boards decreed equal opportunity and assumed that their school bureaucracies would implement all equity regulations. But the values of the administrative culture were not changed, so women are still denied equal support in the real arena for access and for the development and demonstration of administrative skills--the site level.

The Metamessage from the Administrative Culture

The focus on men and women in the vice principalship--their stories, their experiences as they try to learn how to fit into the administrative culture and their language, reveals a fundamental paradox in schools. Schools are structured to run like rational bureaucracies with apolitical decisionmaking, order and communication chain of command, logical division of labor into specializations and promotion by competence for well articulated functions. But no one who looks closely (e.g. by ethnography) at the day-to-day operations or who listens to the stories told by educators about how to function in schools will really believe this myth. Instead administrators learn to use the rhetoric and the legitimized controls of bureaucracy to lend credibility for their actions. Administrators know that they must speak and act as if all actions are rule-based when actually they know to function as street level bureaucrats to survive. They know to maintain the myth of contest mobility and affirmative action although they recognize how easily that is undermined in site-level discretionary allocations of responsibility and opportunity. They know to value the maintenance of order above all else, but many use their discretion to incorporate counseling and nurturance in their dispensation of discipline and in

conflict management. Thus the bureaucratic myth is maintained. Women educators learn to maintain it as they become increasingly "competent" administrators. But in doing so, they are learning to support a system and a culture which may, in fact, be alien to values related to caring, support, and nurturance. And they must learn to suppress anger at exclusion, unfairness and harassment and limit their propensity to push for changes since they know that, as isolated tokens their every action is noticed and risky--and risk-taking is risky for all administrators. For women to even appear at all in the administrative culture is to challenge it, but to appear different (e.g. by demanding reform, by articulating new goals, by redefining methods (e.g. discipline) is especially risky. To challenge sexist practices is to violate culture's norms of loyalty (Marshall & Grey, 1981). By their very presence they are deviant and the undermining, teasing, and harassment reinforces this cultural message.

Still, a few women do enter administration and they exhibit some interesting differences from their male counterparts. Analysis of their language of control reflects some gender differences, with women emphasizing growth and connection over rule-based detached discipline. The overarching messages to all who enter the administrative culture are: First, above all, maintain order; take only very limited risks; keep out deviants and mavericks; maintain the bureaucratic myths but quietly use the discretion masked by that myth. Most women will not desire to enter this culture where they are isolates and deviants.

The cultural values in these messages must be unmasked before any schools can benefit from the talents and alternative perspectives of women administrators. Most of that potential is undermined or wiped away by the powerful socialization rites of passage into the prevailing administrative culture. Even so, research continues to show persistent differences, with women administrators still offering more closeness to community, to teachers,

children, and instructional concerns. These are not qualities that ought to be sacrificed merely to maintain the mystique of bureaucratic purity.

Endnotes

We end with a note or two from Ferguson. We believe that our presentation is an example of scholars exploring following her advice:

> In the language of the social sciences, a dual level of analysis is crucial because the dynamic of the technical civilization includes both the macro-level institutions and processes and the micro-level activities of individuals. Connecting these two levels are...: the institutionalized sets of roles and events that bureaucracies make available...; and the linguistic description/justification of these roles and events and the system that creates them, which constitute the discourse of bureaucracy (pp. 36-37).

We advocate more research with this dual level analysis to discover what is real in the culture that controls schools. For, quoting Ferguson again, "change emerges out of people's confrontations with the existing social arrangements" (p. 29). And we cannot depend on these few women in their vulnerable administrative positions to be doing all of these confrontations alone.

Finally, Adrianne Rich (1985) reminds us to look at the culture to examine what is missing:

> Listen to the silences, the unasked questions, the blanks. Listen to the small, soft voices, often courageously trying to speak up, voices of women taught early that tones of confidence, challenge, anger, or assertiveness are strident and unfeminine. Listen to the voices of women and voices of the men; observe the space men allow themselves physically and verbally, the male assumption that people will listen, even when the majority of the group is female. Look at the faces of the silent and of those who speak.

TABLE 1

Characteristics of Field Study Sample

OBSERVATION AND IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW SUBJECTS

Subject	Level	Setting	School Size	Years VP[1]	Sex	Race	Days on Site
S1	JHS	Urban	1250	21	F	B	4
S2	MS	Suburban	860	3	F	W	8
S3	SHS	Urban	2000	4	M	W	4
S4	SHS	Rural	1000+	3	M	W	6
S5	SHS	Urban	1800+	3 mo	F	W	4

INTERVIEW SUBJECTS

S6	SHS	Urban	2400	12	F	B	1
S7	MS	Urban	1150	13	M	B	1
S8	J-SHS	Urban	1700	3	F	W	1
D5	SHS	Small Urb	1000	10	F	W	1
D6	SHS	Small Urb	1000	10	F	W	1

RESEARCH TEAM SUBJECTS

* G1	SHS	Suburban	1450	12	M	W	5
G2	SHS	Sub-rural	1250	1.5	F	W	5
G3	SHS	Urban	2700	3	F	B	5
G4	SHS	Small Urb	1700	4	M	H	4
* D1	SHS	Suburban	1600	5	F	B	2
D2	SHS	Rural	1200	10	M	W	2
D3	SHS	Urban	3600	13	F	W	4
D4	SHS (Annex)	Urban	500	13	M	B	1
* R1	SHS	Rural	1200	2.5	F	W	1
R2	MS	Urban	1200	2+	F	W	1

[1] At the time of the first research contact.

*Indictaes different researcher: G-Gross; D-Scott; R-Ronzoni

TABLE 2

SUBJECTS BY NAME, SCHOOL AND DISTRICT

Subject	Name	School	District*
S1	Elizabeth Anderson	Dickinson JHS	East City
S2	Doris Schroeder	Belleville Middle	Belleville
S3	David Greenberg	Robert Frost HS	East City
S4	Martin Jameson	Whitman HS	Whitman Regional
S4	Ellen Carson	Longfellow HS	East City
S6	Gladys Simpson	Matthew Henson HS	East City
S7	Virgil Jones	E.B. Browning Middle	East City
S8	Alexis Clark	S. Clemens J/SHS	East City
G1	Ralph Long	Upper Devon HS	Upper Devon
G2	Joan Dixon	Green Hill HS	East Lake
G3	Elaine Jones	Southwest HS	East Lake
G4	George Tiempo	North HS	Northton
D1	Althèa Gibsen	Tyus HS	Mays
D2	John Mize	Mantle HS	Martinsville
D3	Donna DeVarona	Olympia HS	East City
D4	Bill Russell	Celtic HS	East City
D5	Jean King	Flushing HS	Flushing
D6	Carole Mann	Green HS	Greenville
R1	Susan Rafferty	Longwood HS	Longwood
R2	Katherine Rhoads	Woods JHS	East City

*All names are fictitious to protect the identity of the subjects and their school districts.

TABLE 3

SUBJECT PLACEMENT WITHIN TYPOLOGY

Subject	Ongoing Sponsor	Years Teaching	Teaching Field	Applied for Principalship	Goal	Category
S1	N	11	Phys Ed	Y	Retire	P/S
S2	N	13	For Lang	N	CO	UM[4]
S3	N	13	Soc St	Y	Pr	P
S4	Y[6]	5	Elem Ed/Acm	Y[2]	Pr	UM
S5	Y	19	Sciences	N[3]	Pr	UM
S6	N	17	Soc St	Y	Retire	P
S7	Y[6]	8	Soc St	N	VP	C
S8	N	2+15	Counselor	N	CO	UM[4]
61	N	16	Soc St	N	VP	C
62	Y	13	English	N	CO	UM[4]
63	N	11.5	Soc St	N	CO	P[4]
64	N	2	Counselor	Y	Business	CL/S
01	Y	15	Phys Ed	N	VP	C
02	N	12	Soc St	N	VP	C
03	N	9	English	Y	Pr	P
04	Y	10	Phys Ed	N[3]	Pr	P
05	Y	6	English	Y[2]	Pr	UM
06	Y	24	Sci/Counselor	Y[2]	Pr	UM
R1	N	8	For Lang	N	Pr	UM
R2	Y	23	For Lang	Y	Pr	P[5]

Abbreviations: P = plateaued, UM = upwardly mobile, C = career,
S = shafted, CL = considering leaving

[1]Sponsorship available if candidate chose to use it.

[2]Desired to move into staff position at district level.

[3]Successful applicant

[4]Expected to apply in next round of openings.

[5]Problems indicated temporary plateauing within system

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 4

LANGUAGE OF CONTROL S1-S8
WHAT IS IMPORTANT IN THE DISCIPLINE FUNCTION

MEN

Greenberg

Massive effort to keep halls clear
Element of surprise on offenders
Develop policies and forms to create efficient and consistent handling of problems
Visibility
Quiet authority, never threaten
Never be physical
Not lose face

Jameson

Understand the consequences of behavior
Flexible consistency
Visibility
Develop policies and forms to establish efficient, consistent handling of problems
Never be physical
Be emotionally cool
Make punishment fit the crime

Jones

Counsel, guide
Firmness
Role model
Strong Black man
Encourage parental participation
Build positive self-image
Use affect
Learn to fit into society

WOMEN

Anderson

Mental sociogram of student interaction
Preventive action before trouble occurs
Interaction with students all the time
Consistency with judgment
Firmness tempered with caring
Touch to show caring

Schroeder

Every contact with kids must go beyond external control
Listen, don't tell
Discipline as process to change behavior
Discipline to prevent problems
Punishment used to build character
Don't overpunish
Leave kids an "out"
Can't always say, "We're gonna get 'em!"
Spend time with students

Carson

Counsel
Build positive self-image
Punishment does not mean "I hate you"
Eliminate/decrease paperwork, increase interactions
Informal solutions to problems
Humor as tool in diffusing animosity
People can make agreements
Peers can help each other
Develop policies for efficient handling of problems

LANGUAGE OF CONTROL S1-S8
WHAT IS IMPORTANT IN THE DISCIPLINE FUNCTION

MEN

WOMEN

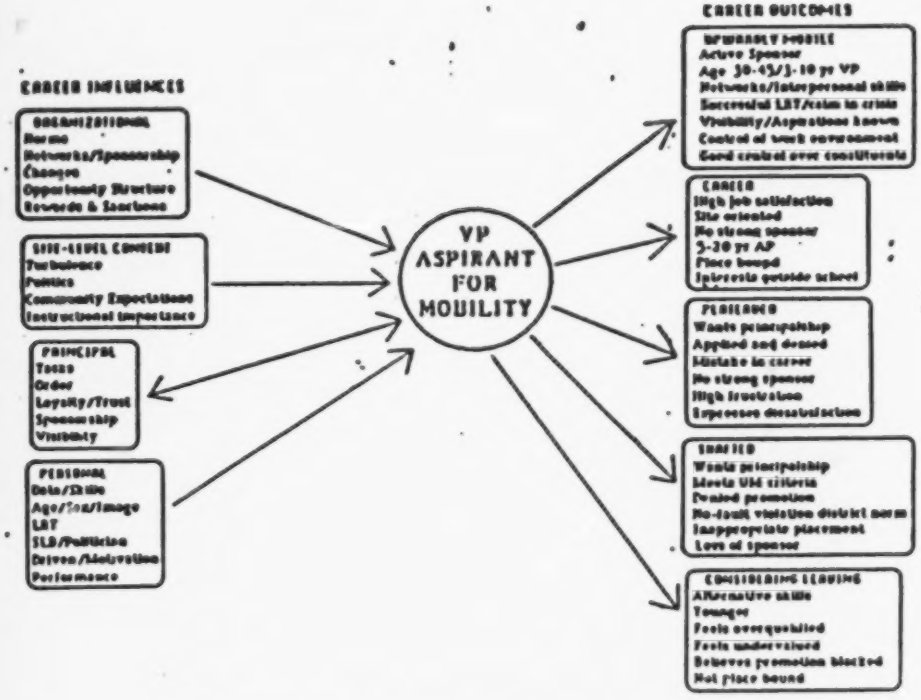
Clark

Learn from discipline
Teachers-students work out solutions to behavior problems with help of third party
Constructive discipline
Mutual respect
Punishment without malice
Listen
Build positive self-image
Spend time with students

Simpson

Mutual respect
Absense of anger in relations with students
Kids in trouble are not all failures (positive self-image)
Overall work to build good school climate

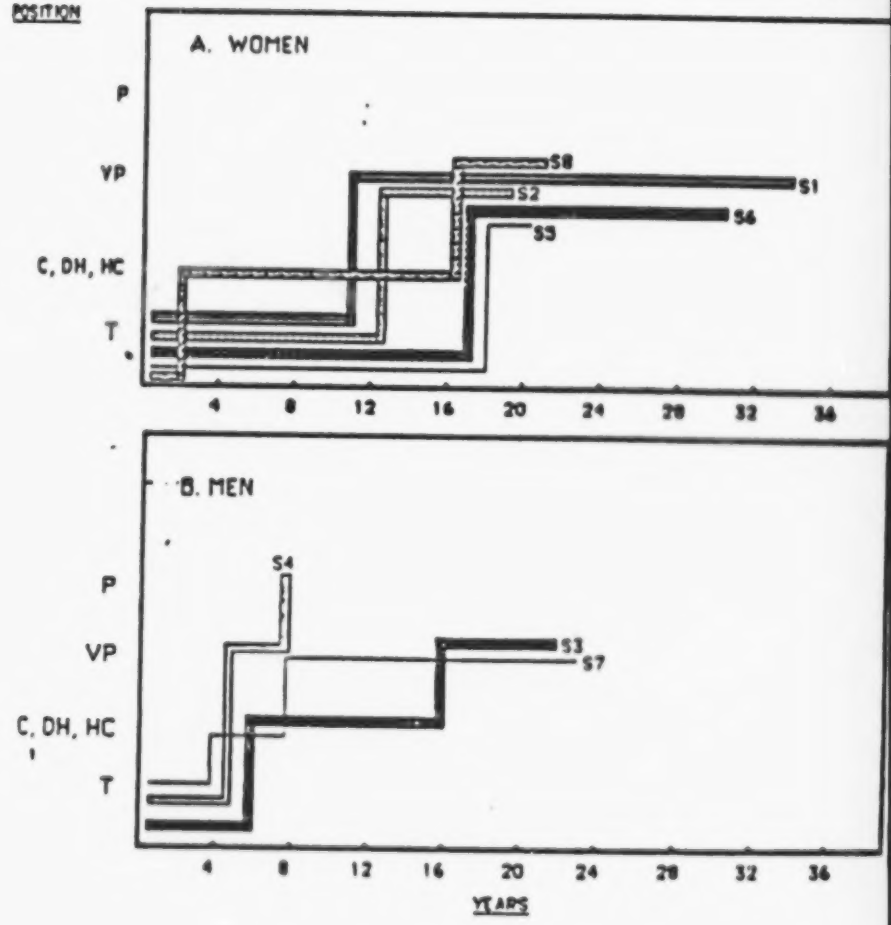
Figure 1



ADMINISTRATIVE CAREER ADJUSTMENT MODEL

Figure 2

CAREER SHAPE



P = Principal
VP = Vice Principal
C = Counselor
DH = Department Head
HC = House Coordinator
T = Teacher

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

REFERENCES

Adkison, J. A. (1981). Women in school administration: A review of research. Review of Educational Research. 51, 311-343.

Adkison, J. A. (1981). Strategies to promote women's careers in school administration. Administrator's Notebook. Vol. XXIX, (2).

Berman, J. (1982). The managerial behavior of female high school principals: Implications for training. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of American Educational Research Association, New York, NY.

Biklen, S. K. (1985). Can elementary school teaching be a career? A search for new ways of understanding women's work. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL.

Blase, J. J. (1988). The politics of favoritism: A qualitative analysis of the teachers' perspective. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.

Blood, R. E. (1966). The Function of Experience in Professional Preparation: Teacher and the Principalship. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, CA.

Bosk, C. L. (1979). Forgive and remember: Managing medical failure. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bredeson, P. V. (1985). An analysis of the metaphorical perspectives of school principals. Educational Administration Quarterly, 21(1), 29-50.

Callahan, R. and Button, H. W. (1964). "Historical change of the role of the man in the organization, 1865-1950," in Behavioral science and educational administration. National Society for the Study of Education.

Callahan, R. E. (1962). Education and the cult of efficiency: A study of the social forces that have shaped the administration of the public schools. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1962.

Christman, J. (1986). Making both count: Family and work in the lives of returning women graduate students. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

Donmoyer, R. (1984). Cognitive anthropology and research on effective principals; findings from a study and reflections on its methods. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.

Edson, S. K. (1980). Female aspirants in public school administration: Why do they continue to aspire to principalships? Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Oregon: Eugene, OR.

Estler, S. E., and Carr, J. C. (1988). Gender differences in actual and preferred time allocation between female and male principals and superintendents in Maine. Paper presented at the annual conference of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.

Ferguson, K. E. (1984). The feminist case against bureaucracy. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Gaertner, K. N. (1979). The structure of careers in public school administration. Administrator's Notebook, 27(6), 1-4.

Gallese, L. R. (1985). Women like us. New York: William Morrow.

Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gilligan, C. (1984). Speech delivered at the University of Pennsylvania.

Gilligan, C. (1982). Adult development and women's development: Arrangements for a marriage. In J. Z. Giele (Ed.), Women in the middle years. New York: John Wiley.

Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory. Chicago: Harper and Row.

Goffman, E. Stigma notes on management of spoiled identity. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963.

Greenfield, W. (1986). Moral imagination, interpersonal competence, and the work of the school administrator. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

Gronn, P. (1983). Talk as the work: The accomplishment of school administration. Administrative Science Quarterly, 28, 1-21.

Gross, N. C., and Trask, A. E. (1976). The sex factor and the management of schools. New York: John Wiley.

Gross, R. (1987). The VP as the instructional leader in the public secondary school. Unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

Hanna, T. (1988). Linguistic behaviors: Strategies to positions? Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN.

Hemphill, J. K., Griffiths, D. E., and Frederickson, N. (1962). Administrative performance and personality: A study of the principal in a simulated elementary school. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Hennig, M. and Jardim, A. (1977). The managerial woman. New York: Doubleday.

Iannaccone, L. (1985). Vice principal research: A window on the building. Education and Urban Society, 18(1), 121-120.

Jones, E., and Montenegro, X. (1982). Recent trends in the representation of women and minorities in school administration and problems in documentation. Arlington, VA: Office of Minority Affairs of the American Association of School Administrators.

Jones, E. H., and Montenegro, X. P. (1985). Women and minorities in school administration. Arlington, VA: American Association of School Administrators Office of Minority Affairs.

Kanter, R. M. (1977). Men and women of the corporation. New York: Basic Books.

Katz, M. B. (1971). Class, bureaucracy, and schools: The illusion of educational change in America. New York: Praeger.

Key, M. R. (1975a). Male/female language. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.

Klein, J. M. (1986). An unpleasant lesson for women. Philadelphia Inquirer, 314(123), 1A.

Kolberg, L. (1980). The future of liberalism as the dominant ideology of the West. In Wilson, R. and Schochet, G. J. (Eds.), Moral development and politics. New York: Praeger.

Laird, S. (1988). Reforming "women's true profession": A case for "feminist pedagogy" in teacher education? Harvard Educational Review, 58(4), 449-463.

Lakoff, R. (1975). Language and woman's place. Language in society, 2, 45-80.

Lawrence, J. (1989). Men and women of the assistant superintendency: Cultural, political and structural issues. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University.

Licata, J. W., & Hack, W. G. (1980). School administrator grapevine structure. Educational Administration Quarterly, 16(3), 82-99.

Lightfoot, S. L. (1983). The good high school: Portraits of character and culture. New York: Basic.

Lortie, D. C. (1975) Schoolteacher: A sociological study. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marshall, C. (1979). The career socialization of women in school administration. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Marshall, C. (1981). Organizational policy and women's socialization in administration. Urban Education, 16, 205-231.

Marshall, C. (1984). The crisis in excellence and equity. Educational Horizons, 63(1), 24-31.

Marshall, C. (1984). The Encultration of the Vice Principal, paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.

Marshall, C. (1985). Professional shock: The enculturation of the assistant principal. Education and Urban Society, 18(1), 28-58.

Marshall, C. (1985). Appropriate criteria of trustworthiness and goodness in qualitative research on education organizations. Quality and Quantity, 19, 353-373.

Marshall, C. (1988). Analyzing the culture of school leadership. Education and Urban Society, 20(2), 262-275.

Marshall, C., Mitchell, D., and Wirt, F. (1986). The context of state level policy formulation. Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 84, 347-378.

Marshall, C., and Grey, R. (1982). The legal rights of women in school administration. Journal of Education Equity and Leadership, 2(4), 253-259.

Marshall, C. (1988). Analyzing the culture of school leadership. Education and Urban Society, 20(2), 262-275.

McBroom, P. A. (1986). The third sex: The new professional woman. New York: William Morrow.

Metz, M. H. (1978). Classrooms and corridors. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Miller, C. & Swift, K. (1976). Words and women, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Mintzberg, H. (1973). The nature of managerial work. New York: Harper and Row.

Nixon, M. and Gue, L. R. (1975). Women administrators and women teachers: A comparative study. The Alberta Journal of Educational Research, XXI(3).

Ortiz, F. I. (1982). Career patterns in education: Women, men and minorities in public school administration. New York: Praeger.

Ortiz, F. I., and Marshall, C. (1988). Women in educational administration. In Norman J. Boyan (Ed.), Handbook of research on educational administration (pp. 123-142). New York: Longman.

Pavan, B. N. (1987). Experiences of women: Barriers to school administrative positions. Unpublished paper presented at a meeting of Women in Education, Philadelphia, PA.

Pavan, B. N. (1986). Barriers to hiring and promotion experienced by certified, aspiring and incumbent female and male public school administrators. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

Philips, S. V. (1980). Sex differences and language. Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 9, 523-544.

Pitner, N. J. (1981). Hormones and harems: Are the activities of superintending different for a woman? In Schmuck et al. (Eds.), Educational policy and management: Sex differentials (pp. 273-295). New York: Academic Press.

Prolman, S. (1983). Gender, career paths, and administrative perceptions. Administrator's Notebook, 30(5), 1-4.

Reed, D. B. (1984). The work of the secondary vice principal: A field study. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.

Rich, A. (1985). Taking women students seriously. In Gendered subjects: The dynamics of feminist teaching. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ronzoni, D. (1985). The secondary vice principal: An assessment position in the educational administrative hierarchy. Unpublished manuscript. University of Pennsylvania, PA.

Schatzman, L. and Strauss, A. (1973). Field research: Strategies for a natural sociology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Schein, E. H. (1978). Career dynamics: Matching individuals and organizational needs. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Schmuck, P. A. (1981). The sex dimension of school organiztion: Overview and synthesis. In Schmuck, et al. (Eds.), Educational policy and management: Sex differentials. New York: Academic Press.

Scott, D. (1985). A case study analysis of the assistant principal responsible for discipline. Unpublished manuscript, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

Shakeshaft, C. (1987). Women in educational administration. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.

Spradley, J. P. (1979). The ethnographic interview. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Taylor, S. (1977). The attitudes of superintendents toward the employm,ent and effectiveness of women as public school administrators. In Fishel and Pottker (Eds.), Sex Bias in the Schools: The Research Evidence. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press.

Tetrault, M. K. (1984). Stages of thinking about women: An evaluation model. Presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, April, New Orleans.

Tyack, D. and Hansot, E. (1982). Managers of virtue: Public school leadership in America 1820-1980. New York: Basic Books.

Turner, R. H. (1960). Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System. American Sociological Review, 25, 855-867.

Van Maanen, J. (Ed.) (1977). Organizational careers: Some new perspectives. New York: Wiley.

Weatherly, R. and Lipsky, M. (1979). Street-level bureaucrats and institutional innovation: Implementing special education reform. Harvard Educational Review, 47(2), 171-194.

Wolcott, H. F. (1973). The man in the principal's office: An ethnography. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.